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VERDICT AT KOHLER

— Charles Owen Rice

THE

Commonweal

The Chinese Puzzle

Questions for Moscow and Washington

by Charles Burton Marshall

Land of the Reformation

Lutheran Liturgical Revival

by Leonard Swidler

ASSERTIONS: A POEM . . . . . ***by John L'Heureux***
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The Temporal Order

The Commonweal has been generally accepted as a Catholic publication, though there is nothing in the masthead to indicate that the magazine is an organ of the Church or of any official body of the Church. As a wholly independent lay weekly which is primarily concerned with the temporal order — the specific province of the layman — The Commonweal clearly cannot claim to speak for the Church. . . .

As long as The Commonweal continues to concern itself mainly with the thorny social and political problems of the day — dealing in concrete realities and not only in abstract principles — a large number of Catholics will continue to take strong issue with the magazine. This is as it should be. . . .

As is fitting for a lay publication, our primary interest is in the "world," the temporal order. We do not conceive of our role in priestly or near-priestly terms. We do not think it is our special vocation to lay down the moral law for others or to indulge in overt preaching, for instance. This is not to say that we think social, political and artistic matters can be divorced from morality or that it is proper for a group of Catholic editors to put out a magazine which does not give expression to the Christian spirit. But, in terms of the Christian vocation, it is our feeling that The Commonweal should serve more as a "witness" than as an apostle. . . .

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

BEFORE THE ELECTION

FOR MANY PEOPLE this year Reformation Sunday and Election Day are inextricably bound together. The connection is another indication of the confusion with which some people view the relation of religion to society, of a candidate's religion to his political office. Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, professor of theology at Union Theological Seminary, recently said that "Reformation Sunday has become a time in the Protestant year to which more and more attention is being given by Protestant churches in trying to recall the meaning of their own heritage."

But Dr. Brown went on to say, "I think it has particular relevance this year when we have been warned that Reformation Sunday may turn into a kind of anti-Catholic Sunday." That Reformation Sunday be treated as an anti-Catholic celebration has always been a temptation for some Protestant groups, as Dr. Brown acknowledged, a temptation not always successfully resisted. During this election year, when the anti-Catholic statements intrude into the political realm, it may be well to assert, once again, some basic truths about religion in this election.

First, as he himself has correctly and forcefully stated, John F. Kennedy is *not* the Catholic candidate for the Presidency. He is the Democratic candidate—and he is a Catholic. This assertion is not an idle play on words. It is the expression of a distinction too easily blurred over in irresponsible attacks leveled against him because of his religion.

Secondly, Mr. Kennedy is a Senator from Massachusetts who asks to be elected to the Presidency of the United States. He was not nurtured by Spain and he is not running for office in Colombia. He operates, as all Americans do, within a great political tradition to which Catholics have made notable contributions, a tradition which American Catholics cherish and defend. If, as Justice Holmes said, a page of history is worth a volume of logic, even the best theoretic arguments against "a Catholic President" weigh lightly in American scales.

Third, Senator Kennedy has stated clearly and directly his position on Church-State questions. He has answered all relevant questions to the satisfaction of all fair, objective observers. There is little more he can do but repeat himself.

IF THESE ARE points which should be kept in mind especially by those who are not Catholics, there are also some cautions which Catholics would do well to heed. First, and most obvious, is that many who are not Catholics deplore unfair and bigoted attacks against Senator Kennedy because of his religion just as strongly as do Catholics. And whatever excesses Reformation Sunday gave rise to in some Protestant communities, there were Protestant spokesmen who did their best to counter such excesses, to calm baseless worries, to clarify issues concerning religion and society.

Second, Catholics must recognize that a man may be prejudiced and decide his vote on grounds that are, at best, inappropriate and yet be neither a fool or a knave. As Arthur Moore, editor of a Methodist publication, wrote in these pages some weeks ago: "Southern Baptists feel beleaguered—integration, mechanization, urbanization are destroying the world they knew and, since it was an intensely Protestant world, it is quite easy to tie anti-Catholicism in with their bewilderment and fear." This is only one example of something which manifests itself as anti-Catholicism yet is, in reality, something quite different from what we usually think of as anti-Catholicism.

Third, Catholics must remind themselves that, while the attacks on Senator Kennedy because of

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his religion are unfair, they must share some of the responsibility for such attacks. This is only to say that Catholics have not, any more than other groups, always acted in a manner to inspire trust and confidence, not to speak of affection. And, fairly or not, the faults of any Catholic or Catholic group tend to be attributed to all Catholics.

These are among the cautions that all Americans should have in mind when they decide their own vote or attempt to persuade others. With these cautions in mind the decisions can be made as they normally have been in this country—on the basis of the party, the platform, the candidate. It is too early to tell the effect of religious prejudice in this campaign and only the foolhardy would attempt to predict. But one can say cautiously that the factors that normally count—the significant, the trivial and the foolish—all seem to be playing their due part in this campaign, outweighing if not eliminating religious prejudice. If this proves to be the case, then, apart from who is elected, all Americans will have won a singular victory.

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SIXTIES

IF ISOLATION is inconceivable in this jet-space era, full-fledged isolationism did flourish as a major political force as late as two decades ago. Adherents of this approach to the outside world have diminished in numbers. Their views are now happily voiced less frequently.

Both candidates for the Presidency assume that this country necessarily has to be concerned about what takes place in such far-flung trouble spots as Laos, the Congo and the Chinese islands; both agree we must be concerned about the other peoples of the world. The argument is not *whether* America should be doing something about lands experiencing difficulty in making a go of things economically or politically—and/or finding themselves under heavy Communist pressure—but over *what* America should be doing about it.

Yet the spirit of isolationism lives on and continues to manifest itself. It stems partly from a combination of self-centeredness and complacent feelings of national superiority—feelings that are as unjustified as they are unendearing.

Anti-Americanism has many roots, but assuredly displays of such an attitude have much to do with it. When abroad on commercial or government assignments, our representatives have tended to live apart from native citizens and at a higher material level. Often they have made too little effort to learn and speak the native language. They display little genuine interest in cultural or other achievements that constitute justified sources of national pride. And, in the matter of student and cultural exchanges, do we in the United States ever seek such arrangements because of the ways in which *our* compatriots would learn or benefit from them?

Lack of genuine interest in other peoples naturally has important political effects. It helps confine our technical assistance largely to strategic sectors in the cold war to the neglect of other territories where the need is just as great. It leads to constant pressure against appropriations for foreign aid even when there is need to widen the scope of such assistance. It is reflected in the appointment to important ambassadorial posts of substantial contributors to campaign funds in preference to career men with proven diplomatic and linguistic ability and interest in the country to which they would be sent.

What besides a less cavalier attitude toward our diplomatic service is called for by the new and heightened international pressures? Greater domestic strength serves as a good starting point. This would include steadily expanding industrial production, full employment and the maintenance of a stable currency. It would involve adequate provision for the needs of our citizens in such areas as education, housing, hospitals and social security plus genuine equality of opportunity for the American Negro. And it would require a considerable boost in our military strength. Without the comparative might to back up our positions, our most able diplomats will be able to achieve little in negotiating with representatives of a power which respects only force.

Another change essential for meeting the chal-

NEXT WEEK

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD discusses the need for a vigorous political opposition, regardless of which party is in power.

"Our political leaders, provided with much the same opportunities that Winston Churchill enjoyed in opposition, have scarcely known what to do with their power. Churchill's words are significant—the opposition's duty is to oppose, to criticize, to warn, and no plea of state interest can relieve it of its obligation. Honor is more important than appearance. . . ."

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lenge of the hour is a reorientation in our approach to many nations. For these lands neutralism reflects not only a lack of enthusiasm for what they think American stands for but also a realistic grasp of their own urgent needs and internal weaknesses. A growing recognition of this fact is manifest in this country's laudable efforts to keep the newly-independent African countries out of the cold war.

India serves as the primary example. Even with the intense provocations of the Communist Chinese, Mr. Nehru has stubbornly refused to take sides, insisting on the necessity for focusing all of his nation's wealth and energies on its own crucial domestic problems. Yet can anyone maintain, in view of the stakes in Asia, that it is not to the interest of the United States for India to become economically and politically strong in its full-scale independence?

This leads to the unwelcome truth that our aid to India needs greatly to be expanded if that populous political democracy is to succeed. The Communist challenge only accentuates the peril involved in the contrast between the aspirations of the restive peoples of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America and their present state. It means that, unlike the Marshall Plan, our foreign aid commitments will have to increase rather than taper off. The growing need is so vast that all NATO powers will have to weigh in with heavy contributions. It is impossible to erect a worldwide alliance against the advancing power of the Sino-Soviet complex, but, with sufficient determination on our part, a significant number of neutralist nations can be assisted to develop as independent centers of stability and strength. Then their peoples will be able to attain the humanly decent mode of existence long denied them. The key role of the United States in such a prospect underlines the importance of the foreign policy campaign debate.

MORE ON A PASTORAL

LAST WEEK in these pages we commented at some length on the letter of the Puerto Rican bishops forbidding Catholics to vote for the Popular Democratic party of Governor Luis Munoz Marin. Our opposition to such direct and specific episcopal intervention in politics is based on much more than short-range practical grounds. Nonetheless, press reports on the immediate effect of the pastoral in Cuba have their own importance.

According to the newspaper men on the scene, Governor Munoz Marin's campaign for a fourth term is now arousing enthusiasm among the voters to a degree that was lacking before the publication of the bishops' pastoral. The Governor, a dispatch to the N.Y. *Times* said, is "pressing the issue of separation of Church and State in what appears to be a one-sided contest." In short, it may be argued that the Governor was not historically exact when he denounced the bishops' action as "medieval," but it appears likely that he spoke with a politician's shrewd instinct for the crowd-pleasing phrase. In view of all this, it would seem that even those who are prepared to defend the Puerto Rican pastoral in theory must be somewhat taken aback at such indications of its practical consequences.

As far as the consequences of the Puerto Rican pastoral in the United States are concerned, both Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, and Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, have commented on this subject since our first editorial was written. Their statements should receive widespread attention.

"The island of Puerto Rico," Archbishop Vagnozzi said, "is not within the territory entrusted to the apostolic delegation in Washington. Therefore, it would be improper for me to comment on the pastoral letter to the Catholic bishops of Puerto Rico. I can say, however, that the Catholic bishops of the United States have never taken any position similar to that taken by the bishops of Puerto Rico. I am confident, also, no such action would ever be taken by the hierarchy in this country."

In Boston, Cardinal Cushing said he was happy to second Archbishop Vagnozzi's remarks. "It is totally out of step with American tradition for ecclesiastical authority here to dictate the political voting of citizens," Cardinal Cushing said. This does not mean, he pointed out, that religion and morality are left out of consideration in matters of public policy.

"Our American tradition," the Cardinal stated, "has always encouraged the discussion of moral and religious questions in helping to form the intelligent decision of the voter. We expect religious leaders in our country of whatever denomination to discuss those issues which have relevance to public order and to advise their constituents when spiritual principles and religious values are involved. This is not improperly mixing religion and politics; this is bringing our religious traditions into the stream of American life in a way that influences that public life while it protects individual freedom. With all of this said, however, we must repeat that, whatever may be custom elsewhere, the American

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tradition, of which Catholics form so loyal a part, is satisfied simply to call to public attention moral questions with their implications and leave to the conscience of the people the specific political decision which comes in the act of voting."

Our own editorial on the subject expressed the conviction that the Puerto Rican pastoral only served to confuse the complex relationship between religion and politics. It must therefore be obvious that we welcome Cardinal Cushing's views—sentiments, we feel sure, that are shared by the overwhelming majority of American Catholics, bishops, priests and people.

NUMBER ONE ISSUE

MEANWHILE, behind the front pages, what of The Bomb? The excitement of the campaign has left Americans little time, or energy, apparently, for discussion of the disarmament question, but it may well be that the future of this country, and of the world, depends more on the outcome of our disarmament negotiations than on the outcome of our elections.

The prospects for disarmament change every day, slightly for the better or worse, but on the whole the situation has not been substantially altered by the developments of recent weeks. At the moment it might be said that U.N. Ambassador Wadsworth's latest presentation of the United States position, in extremely conciliatory terms, has had a good effect on the climate of the debate and on the attitudes of the neutralist nations. It is possible to hope that the pressure of U.N. opinion, sparked by demonstrations of good faith by the United States, may force the Soviet Union to give up its politicking on the issue and sit down and negotiate. Unfortunately, it is also possible to believe that Soviet intransigence, together with Western and neutralist disagreements, will continue to prevent such a blessed outcome, at least in the near future.

Nevertheless, we must not be discouraged. For this is a problem that simply must be solved. Literally everything depends on our not being discouraged, on our not giving up the effort as hopeless and turning instead to the insidious notion that man can somehow "live with" The Bomb.

Already some of our military men are talking about how many millions of casualties the U.S. could "absorb" and still mount a retaliatory attack. And studies are being published on the feasibility of moving our entire civilization underground. Plans like these may be defended as no more than realistic, we know, and in itself this defense is valid, but it seems a terrifying fact that our ingenuity, our technological genius, above all our sense of urgency, are bent almost wholly to the problem of nuclear war and not to the problem of nuclear peace.

This, we believe, is the most dismaying development of the last few years. That the number of nations with nuclear capability is increasing, that the production of fissionable material becomes cheaper and easier day by day, that the means of delivering nuclear warheads grow more efficient by the hour—these are horrifying extensions of the danger of The Bomb. But the most basic reason for terror is the sense of fatalism which seems to be gripping us, the feeling that human nature is such that man will never give up war, that disarmament has never worked and won't work now—in short, the belief that nuclear war is inevitable.

Nuclear war cannot be inevitable. Perhaps it is only when a sufficient number of us—in this country, in the Soviet Union, all over the world—are finally and absolutely convinced of this fact that it will be possible to build anything on it. Only then, perhaps, will we and our governments face up to what is, unquestionably, the world's number one problem.

Questions of "national prestige," prosperity, welfare legislation, civil rights—these must be acknowledged as secondary to the great, overarching question of nuclear peace or war. We are not saying that these are not issues of great urgency, or that we should lower our ideals or slacken our efforts in regard to them; no regular reader of these columns could think that, we trust. We are saying that the threat of nuclear war is of prior urgency, and that it will be disastrous for us if we act otherwise.

The difficulties of achieving nuclear disarmament are staggering. Human nature as we know it and the tragic pages of history make the prospects of success seem dim indeed. We must not minimize the enormity of the task we face, and we must not delude ourselves that wishing will make our dreams come true.

But at the same time we must not pretend that we can live with these bombs, that shelters or missiles or retaliatory techniques or anything else can save us. Or at least that they can save anything worth saving.

This is the starting point. Whatever hope we have must be grounded on this as a fundamental, unshakable premise: there must be no nuclear war.

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The Chinese Puzzle

Communist China, conspicuously absent from the United Nations, poses grave questions for everyone, in Moscow as in Washington

by CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

THE FIFTEENTH General Assembly of the United Nations has settled down to quieter routines now, with the decline of the tumult and shouting and the departure of titans and kings. It has been a session unmatched for stately importance and unstately surprises—and for sheer numbers as well. Two dozen chiefs of states or heads of governments have lent their presence. Seventeen neophyte states, mostly African, have expanded the membership to an unprecedented ninety-nine. The figure calls up a parable concerning a similar number once brought into a fold and a hundredth one that was absent and therefore the center of attention.

The conspicuous absentee is Communist China, third among nations in territorial scope, holding sway over a fourth of the world's people: by all odds the most numerous nation, with a population now estimated at 680,000,000 and increasing by annual increments about the size of the population of New York State.

The giant's absence surely leaves incomplete the image of a General Assembly designed to be a global town meeting. More than size lends importance, however. Red China's intentions and potential bear on all the topics laden with hope and fear touched upon in the Assembly's unprecedented spate of oratory. Red China is important to all and integral to most of the items on any list of grave issues—regulation and control of armament, accommodation or protraction in the cold war, relaxation of international tensions, creation of a world order to succeed the vanishing imperial dispensation, economic development of backward areas, and encouragement of stable authority among the necessitous new lands.

So Red China, conspicuously absent from the Assembly, is notably present in the calculations and appraisals of every world-conscious foreign office. What are the purposes and what are the assets and liabilities of Peiping? The questions must be asked as searchingly in Moscow as in Washington.

It would be misleading to sort the answers into neat categories of means and ends or into a simple scheme of priorities. In policy, means and ends are inextricably connected, and assets and liabilities are ways of expressing the same realities. A nation's domestic needs and ambitions are intertwined with its world outlook and its historic goals. All this applies to the aims toward which Red China presses and the means it brings to bear. A nation may be said to consist of a territory, a people, and a pattern of authority. In China's case, all three relate to the potential and to the goals. Chineseness is intertwined with Marxism. The regime is at once dogmatically Communist and unequivocally racist.

ONE MIGHT start with the survival and the strengthening of the regime itself—the Communist regime which established its control eleven years ago upon the retreat of the precursor Nationalist regime to Formosa. Surely this qualifies as a preeminent goal. The regime's grip must be strengthened, its doctrine fastened upon the people, and its control riveted to all aspects of the national life, so that China shall respond with a unity and act with an effectiveness hitherto unknown in its long history.

An integral part of this is perseverance in a massive domestic economic revolution involving the subordination of production in all its aspects to central planning and control and designed to change the face of the land and to bring it by rigorous effort abreast of the industrialized countries of the West in the shortest possible time—the most massive savings program of history.

This program leads in the broad purpose to propel China ahead as a great power in world affairs. As part of this Red China presses to reconstitute the Chinese family of nations—an historic expression representing a ring of protectorates ranging over

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Mongolia, Korea, Vietnam, Tibet, Bhutan, Burma, Malacca, Java, Luzon, and Ceylon.

And this purpose in turn intertwines with that of eliminating all Western influence from Eastern Asia—especially United States influence, for the United States, as leader among nations opposing the march of Communism and as helper and ally to those disposed to stand independent of Red China, has been singled out as a supreme enemy to be humiliated, isolated and brought to defeat.

The aim to dominate Eastern Asia connects with ambition to be the exemplar of Communist revolution for Asia. A like ambition extends to the necessitous emerging countries of other continents. This in turn relates to an ambition to establish Chinese preeminence in the Communist collaboration which, in the regime's view, is destined by a dictate of historic laws for a world-wide triumph.

That culmination might with equal accuracy be described as preeminent, along with the strength and continuity of the regime. The rulership looks to its own position and interests as instruments of that postulated destiny. With regard to Communist dogma, its members are true believers. Their acts are subordinated to their view of an ineluctable struggle to achieve at last an historic plateau of world Communism. In that course, war is taken as inevitable. Peaceful coexistence can only be an interlude to be accepted when the Communist cause is pushing to its destined triumph. Success in such junctures requires the proponents of Communism to steel themselves against enemies, and this requires postulating, accepting, and acting upon the idea of inevitable war—to Peiping an indispensable idea.

The regime is made up of true believers also in the sense of their assurance about the outcome. The policy of an adversary becomes, in their parlance, "a rotting bone in a graveyard." The decay of capitalism exemplified in the United States is postulated as a certain and current phenomenon. Adversary forces become "paper tigers." As the doctrinaire periodical *Red Flag* puts it, "None of the imperialist reactionaries who still seem outwardly strong can avoid the doom advanced by history." And doomsday for the enemies will bring the true believers into their own as princes of a regenerated world.

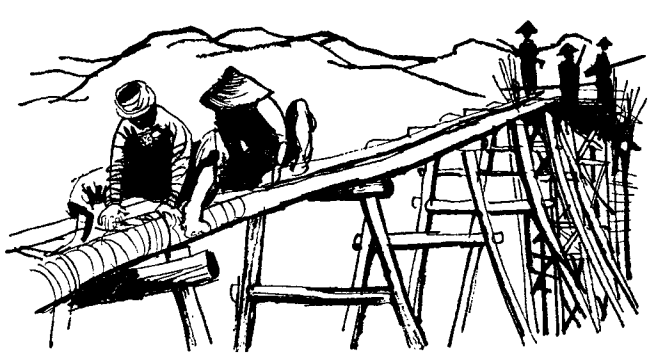
WHAT OF the means for such a big order? Filling it must be largely a matter of tugging by bootstraps. Nature has not been bountiful to China in rainfall, soil, or subsoil wealth. The technological lag is woeful. For its ambitious endeavors China has two main basic resources—position and manpower. The thought must come to its rulers that Japan in its time cut a great swath with far less of both. Red China has little to spend beyond billions of man-years of effort to wring every possible bit of substance from the meager land. The mounting hundreds of millions of Chinese function both as the preeminent instrument for development and as the main charge against the assets produced—in a race to test whether denial and striving can enable production to make headway against requirements.

There is no place in this scheme for political deliberations and accommodations with the established powers of the West—and surely small incentive for cultivating diplomatic relations which would open China's domain to an influx of prying diplomats and inquisitive attachés from the adversary world. Rather, the image of being hemmed in by pressures from hostile forces must be intensified—so that every last ounce of effort may be exacted from a pressed and anxious populace for providing capital formation to undergird economic and strategic achievement.

Here the strength of the ruling apparatus is seen not only as an end but as a means. It is geared to manipulate people by hundreds of millions, stamping out every vestige of opposition, suppressing every impulse to individuality, eliminating every competing institution, obligation, and interest, and rendering a vast populace into an unquestioningly obedient mass. The dogma offers a goad as well as a goal. Its absolute promise of prevailing brings to the rulers the conviction to press their grandiose designs. It rules out doubt. It provides an enemy. It combines urgency for survival with the tonic sense of backing a sure thing.

The ideological instrument links closely to the alliance with the Soviet Union, up to now an instrument of huge effectiveness. It has brought in material to redress deficiencies in military production. The intimidatory image of Soviet military power in the background has given Red China vicarious strength for risks and adventures beyond its own single capability.

Finally, an appreciation of Red China's role and scope requires understanding the relativeness of power, which means capacity to achieve intended results. Such capacity depends in part upon the strength of forces in opposition. The opportunities before Red China have arisen from the weaknesses in surrounding areas. In all too many of them tyranny and avarice have been the



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marks of rulership and apathy the curse of the ruled, bonds of identity and allegiance have been weak, and independence has brought only frustration. All this has raised the power quotient of Peiping and has given the ring of plausibility to designs to revive the Chinese family of nations as a stepping stone to wider triumphs.

HOW CAN the thrust of Red China be controlled? That important question has produced an array of hopeful answers.

A current theory sees consolation in a prospect of irreconcilable cleavage within the Communist camp—with Soviet Russia presumably taking alarm over Peiping's balky ambitions and resolving to bridle them with a replica of our containment policy. According to this theory, Khrushchev's recently demonstrated zeal to break down the United Nations barriers against Peiping rose from an urgency to tame Red China by admitting the regime to responsibility and respectable fellowship.

One must put this theory into proportion. With completely unrelated cultures and languages, separate geographic positions, and contrasting internal requirements, the Soviet Union and China will tend to go on different courses, but they are likely to be more parallel than divergent. Whatever the frictions, they need each other. It is premature and beguiling to expect an unearned break for the West. Amid all the quarrels echoing from Communist realms, it is well to remember the tale of the missionary who, made captive in a jungle, was heartened by signs of a row among his captors—only to learn that the issue was over how to prepare the prospective stew. To place hopes in a supposedly moderate Khrushchev—as some are wont to do—would be simple folly. Khrushchev is not moderate. A position worse than having to depend on him to mediate our differences with a rampant China is hard to imagine.

A companion hope rises from a wish that the United States may wring some last benefit from its endeavor to bar Peiping from the United Nations. This endeavor —which humors a fiction that the Nationalist regime located on Formosa still holds juridic authority over mainland China—has the look of an expiring policy. This gives rise to a notion of negotiating Red China into amenability as a condition precedent to the grant of membership coming increasingly into prospect.

It is a wan hope. It is a fair question whether and how the regime might respond to opportunity for a role in the United Nations when and if the ban is lifted. It may see advantages in the facilities which membership would afford to its ambitions for preeminence in the Communist world, enhanced opportunity for contact with the fledgling states which it hopes to draw into its train by the power of its example in rigorous self-development, and a chance to make its persistent anti-American propaganda resound from a sanctuary within our own domain. If so, it may then accept membership, but it will do so arrogantly as a signification of triumph rather than obsequiously making amends and promises and showing gratitude for admission to respectable company long denied.

It is equally plausible that Red China might ignore, reject outright, or attach impossible conditions to the opportunity. No evidence—only conjectures, inferences, and Khrushchev's exhortations—supports an assumption that it wants in. It has not petitioned for a place. In dealing with other governments it has scarcely shown anxiety for acceptance. Its motivations bear rather toward humiliation of adversaries among the established powers than to participation in the normal usages of diplomacy. How better show disdain than by rejecting membership so long withheld when finally the opportunity is extended?

THOSE WHO argue the advantage of having Red China represented in a world forum where it can be called to account for its actions should assume that the point, with values reversed, has not been lost on Peiping.

The regime's long record of relationships with the United Nations has a bearing. The high point came in 1950, with the interposition of Red China's army, in the guise of volunteers, against the United Nations Command in Korea. Its spokesmen, invited before the General Assembly, came not as petitioners or defendants but as antagonists. After being tagged as aggressor for persisting in armed intervention, Red China fought on to a standstill—an immense source of prestige for it before its own people. In prolonged armistice negotiations its position was that of a bargainer on equal footing with the forces representing world authority. The position from which it bargained was one where its presence had been called aggressive, and the outcome left it in actual if not lawful control—a success of considerable moment for defiance. Indeed the Korean venture left the regime with enhanced prestige and a hugely stronger base at home. Red China has made a good thing out of defying the United Nations. If it should come in, it will scarcely be with hat in hand.

In seeking for solutions, one should keep in mind that Peiping has tempered fanaticism in word with prudence in actions. Even the heady gamble in Korea —however risky when measured against the regime's newness, the tenuousness of its hold, and the meagerness of its resources—was undertaken only after long hesitation and was carefully kept from getting out of hand. China has pressed its territorial designs by preempting Tibet, an easy prize, and by indirect support of civil strife in other peripheral areas. Though it has deployed its arms into disputed areas even against India, it has generally kept a tight leash, preferring to

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position forces as a threat in being to neighbors, while exploiting weaknesses in environing areas by unconventional means such as infiltration, subversion and the like. For such efforts it has an auxiliary asset of considerable potential in Chinese populations living as minorities in Southern Asia—perhaps a foreboding precedent for the use it will seek to make of Chinese minorities in Africa and Latin America.

In conventional military strength Red China is powerful but not overpowering. However vociferous in manifesting hostile intent, it is likely to be tempted into military adventures only as want of external vigilance provides apparent riskless opportunity. In a short calculable future, Peiping may have solved the problem of atomic energy and achieved symbolic weight as possessor of a few big bombs—a development more likely to increase truculence than to alter the preference for unconventional means. Even when discounted to redress the excessive claims of propaganda, the Peiping regime's achievements in development are formidable; they leave it closer to first than to third, but still second, in the Communist camp. For the calculable future, the main factor of concern to us must continue to be Soviet strength.

The prospect places a premium on the long tasks of shoring up the internal positions of potential victims of China's thrust. It requires of us a steady purpose to do what we can to overcome apathy in the environing countries and to guide backward regimes away from the temptation to tyranny. It means maintaining the symbols as well as the fact of United States strategic commitment to Southern and Eastern Asia. Doing so, we shall have to temporize with neutralists, but it is well to remember that some of the most vocal exponents of neutralism in the area are wont to be privately thankful that the United States retains a stake in their fate.

IT IS WELL to put in proportion the importance of what remains of Free China on Formosa, for its significance pertains not to its grandiose pretensions to a status long gone in fact—namely that of governing authority over China—but to its role as a source of restraint on China's rulers. It symbolizes from outside the possibility of alternative, the potential for popular revolt, and thus provides cautionary influence on the extent to which they feel free to make experimental exactions of their people.

As a recent report for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee puts it, "Communist China presents the most complicated and serious problem faced by the United States in Asia. It is also a problem more likely to grow than to diminish, and one for which there are no easy answers." By temperament and experience we are scarcely well geared for such problems. We prefer to sort situations into the hopeful and the hopeless and to try for quick answers. We can best get guidance not from our own past but from such historic processes as the long confrontation between Christendom and Islam.

Time may work its changes on Communist China. The present regime exemplifies the most enduring collaboration on the present world scene—thirty-five years in harness. This is a strong point, but also a weakness. Red China is evolving into a gerontocracy. Soon it must face a problem posed by the simultaneous superannuation of its top leadership and with it the test that overtakes every revolutionary regime—bridging from the first to the second generation. Then, virtually by default, power must devolve upon a second tier of leadership preponderantly now in the forty-five to sixty age group and military in outlook and background in consequence of past preoccupations and neglect of developing political successors. Below it, now in the thirty-five to forty-five age group, is a third tier of potential leadership brought into maturity since the establishment of the regime. Somewhere along the way there will be changes—perhaps for worse but maybe for better. We can best hope for the latter and be prepared to exploit whatever breaks may come our way —in the meantime taking care to keep our guard up, not expecting too much, but taking care never to do too little.

ASSERTIONS

The simple affirmation of a turning tree
asserts the burning truth of all you were
your hands as brown as walnuts and as gnarled
your harsh face beautiful with dying
and all you were, and all.

Autumn, the dying time, crept with whispers
into the tree and left it a gallows
into your hard and simple frame
making it tremble like the blackened leaf
whispering you nailed like a leaf in the wind.

And at the end there was no despair.
A simple assertion.
No nows and forevers nor words undying.

This somber autumn with its dying whispers
lets fall from vines as poignant as the hawthorn
musty grapes into my empty hands
and I crush them with assertion.

Though the wound has whitened even before
winter,
do not forget me as I not forget.

JOHN L'HEUREUX.

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Verdict at Kohler

by CHARLES OWEN RICE

WHEN THE United Automobile Workers struck the Kohler Company on April 5, 1954, everyone knew it would be a long, hard strike, but no one realized just how long and how hard. Here it is, closer to seven than to six years later, and while a partial resolution of the bitter controversy has come from a recent N.L.R.B. ruling and the strike is technically over, there probably will be two or three years of litigation before a settlement is reached. There is a horrifying possibility that not even a full decade will actually bring an end.

The general public has not been inconvenienced by the strike, and so, in these prosperous and socially torpid times, has not been stirred by the issues in the long drawn-out battle; and the liberal fringe of society, with the exception of those involved in the labor movement by sympathy or avocation, has shared the apathy of the times and the public. Extreme conservatives, however, have not been apathetic; they have been passionate on the subject.

The conservative line, as often articulated by Senator Barry Goldwater, has been to hail the company as a champion of freedom and scorn the union as a vehicle of tyranny, while emphasizing and exaggerating the effectiveness of the union's political activity. The Senator tried to use the 1958 Senate hearings on labor abuses to make his point, but the union went on the offensive and used the hearings to make several points of its own. Incidentally, it should be noted here that with some glaring exceptions the news media have carried the Kohler story straight, with only the normal bias that comes through against all strikes in virtually all reporting.

A look at the background of the still-continuing dispute shows that the labor troubles of the Kohler Company are not of recent origin. This privately owned manufacturer of plumbing ware, located near Sheboygan in Southern Wisconsin, has as president and chairman of the board Howard V. Kohler, son of the man who founded the business in 1873. He runs the business the way his father and his late half-brother Walter, once governor of Wisconsin, did, and he will not brook interference from anyone. In pre-strike times, the plant employed 3,300, now reduced probably to 2,500. One says "probably," because Kohler controls statistics about as tightly as it runs its plant.

That heavy-handed paternalism and its inevitable accompaniments of favoritism and arbitrary decision characterized Kohler before the big changes wrought in employer and worker psychology and relationship by the depression, the New Deal and the rise of modern industrial unionism is no cause for wonder; but it is highly unusual that the changing times brought no change in company attitudes, and there is the root of the trouble.

IN 1933, Kohler workers organized under an A.F.L. federal charter, and the company in countering followed a common pattern of the day by forming the rival Kohler Workers Association, K.W.A., a company union. The A.F.L. local union struck for eleven weeks in 1934 and in the course of that strike, company guards fired into a crowd at the main gate killing two and injuring thirty. After the National Guard broke the strike, and the company broke the A.F.L. union, the Kohler Workers Association easily won an election. Kohler had twenty years of peace, but what most accounts of the present strike seem to miss is the fact that the K.W.A. itself eventually turned against Kohler. The members in 1951 voted to affiliate with the United Automobile Workers, but the company would not unbend even to its own creature.

Many companies have defeated "outside" unionism by the device of the company or "independent" union, but these normal companies give their "independents" certain rights and powers so that the workers have the illusion, at least, of some internal democracy. This is something that Kohler would not or could not, do.

The burning issue has not been rates of pay, although these are by no means liberal, but internal democracy. Kohler assigns the workers where it will, not only to minister to efficiency but also to punish and intimidate, or even to express disapproval of private conduct. Seniority does not exist and Kohler will not accept a grievance procedure that has a chance to work, nor an arbitration contract clause that would enable grievance disputes to be terminated. A model company town was built for Kohler workers in 1912 and incorporated under the name of Kohler, and while it is a physically beautiful community it has been used

Father Rice, a priest of the Pittsburgh diocese, is well known for his comments on labor questions.

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for the ugly purpose of control of the entire man. A worker living there who dares to displease his bosses risks almost certain loss of livelihood and shelter.

Organizers for the United Automobile Workers began to nibble at Kohler in 1949, but they did not win bargaining rights, nor a contract, until 1953. That first contract was a poor one, without even a seniority clause, and when its one-year term drew to a close the leaders of U.A.W. demanded improvements. Herbert V. Kohler would give them nothing, since in his words, "You don't have to give them anything to bargain." An N.L.R.B. examiner later called it, "bargaining not to reach but to avoid agreement." Kohler laid in an arsenal of guns, clubs and tear-gas equipment; and his hired detectives and photogaphers maintained "illegal surveillance" not only on workers, organizers and strangers but also, eventually on officials of the N.L.R.B. and the Senate committee.

The union trimmed its demands and even kept its members at work five weeks beyond the contract termination date, but Kohler was adamant and the strike was on. It was quite effective at first as pickets, massing "belly to back," closed the company tight; but an injunction cleared the gates, and after fifty-four days the company resumed operations.

Strikebreakers swarmed in from near-by farming communities and more distant places, but, while that angered the community of Sheboygan, where most Kohler employees lived, it did not divide it. Division came as some of the old workers went through the picket lines. Families were split by bitterness, old friendships were shattered, and neighbor was set against neighbor. As always in America when a plant operates during a strike, there was violence and vandalism by which striker as well as non-striker was victimized.

At a cost of ten million dollars the U.A.W. kept faith with the two thousand strikers and supported them until, after two years, it sadly advised the bulk of them to find work elsewhere. It continued, however, to spend more money in supporting enough workers to picket and maintaining its local 833 in being. The drain on the U.A.W., although lessened, did not cease, but the expenditure was justified to show that the union would not lightly abandon those whom it had called out on strike.

AFTER THE merger of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. in 1955, the Automobile Workers launched a boycott. It was a legal, primary boycott, merely asking and advising customers not to use Kohler products. One customer, who was unmoved, was the United States Government, which has continued a flow of ordnance contracts without interruption.

Kohler says that the boycott was a miserable failure and produced more customers than it cost; the union says that the boycott was successful. The truth seems to lie in the middle. Kohler lost many customers because, while the A.F.L. building trades mechanics could not legally refuse to install Kohler's fixtures, most unionized contractors were loath to risk slowdowns and delay by insisting on Kohler. However, the company survived the boycott by changing its sales approach. It began to advertise so as to reach the home trade and the small builder, and it picked up many suppliers who were anxious for a plumbing line but could get it only when other suppliers dropped Kohler. The company also seems to have successfully drawn in its operations and reduced its overhead so that it could operate in the black with a smaller volume.

Since Kohler is privately owned and does not publish figures, Wisconsin tax figures have often been cited to show that its profits were only slightly reduced, but these tax figures are unreliable because they can be changed later by rebates which are not made public. The company was hurt, it seems, but not gravely, and although the boycott was never officially called off, the special boycott staff of the U.A.W. was disbanded.

Never was such a variety of mediation and conciliation attempted, and never did mediation and conciliation meet with less success. Herbert Kohler's half-nephew, Walter Kohler, Jr., serving a term as governor of Wisconsin during the life of the strike, had his attempts spurned by Herbert as thoroughly as were those of clergymen, federal officials and civic leaders. The repeated refrain was, "Outsiders cannot be allowed to determine conditions of work at Kohler."

Formal complaints brought the National Labor Relations Board into the controversy. Six million words and nineteen hundred exhibits were compiled, and in 1957 the examiner, George A. Downing, issued a report condemning the company, and finding for the union. The matter went to the full board, and in August of this year a final decision was handed down, giving virtually complete victory and vindication to the strikers and their union; at least on paper.

The crux of the decision is the determination that this strike, which began as an economic strike, became an unfair practices strike after June 1, 1954 because the company offered a wage increase to non-strikers without consulting the legal bargaining agent, Local 833 of the U.A.W. Members of the N.L.R.B. were split only because one wanted to sustain the union in everything.

Although the majority decision does not go that far, it demolishes the company position and provides a catalogue of company offenses as it commands Kohler to cease and desist from discouraging membership in the union by discharges, threats, promises, evictions or unlawful surveillance. It orders the company to bargain collectively upon request and to post notices of compliance; it orders that certain information be made available to the union, and that various other

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things be done; but, most important of all, it orders the rehiring of most of those still on strike and the payment of wages to strikers who apply and are not rehired. (Seventy-seven strikers who were allegedly involved in the illegal "belly to back" mass picketing of the early days of the strike are not entitled to reinstatement under the ruling.)

Kohler spokesmen condemned the N.L.R.B. ruling and immediately appealed it to the United States Court of Appeals in Chicago, vowing that if they lost they would take it to the Supreme Court, as indeed they will. The U.A.W., in turn, took the firing of the seventy-seven to the U.S. District Court in Washington.

So that the workers might apply for reinstatement, the strike was ended by the U.A.W. At first the Kohler Company stated that only a few hundred were still on strike and eligible for rehiring; the union put the number at seventeen hundred. Suddenly the company sent notice to fourteen hundred, offering reinstatement; so much for the reliability of Kohler figures. Was this a change of heart? No, it was recognition of the fact that in the event of N.L.R.B. and union victory in the courts Kohler would find itself owing twenty dollars a day to an awful lot of people, for a great many days, unless it protected itself.

HOW MANY of the fourteen hundred will return? Nobody knows, because many of these workers abominate Kohler and its practices and will not give up whatever jobs they have found in the past six years. There is also the reasonable fear of what will happen to them if they return. Kohler has a reputation for unremitting warfare on its opponents, internal and external, and the N.L.R.B. has no injunctive remedy in equity to force an employer to be decent; it can only process complaints, and who knows better than a Kohler striker that these take years and years when a stubborn and powerful employer is involved?

Justice delayed is justice denied, and the Kohler strike shows clearly how a willful employer can deny justice. Statutes, legal precedent and administrative law at present can under many circumstances give quick relief to an employer who is harassed by a labor union; they can do virtually nothing for a labor union or its members in a similar situation. Kohler has been used by the conservatives to illustrate the tyrannous power and irresponsibility of American labor unions, while as a matter of fact it illustrates the opposite, namely, the relative weakness of the unions and the great power under the law which a determined, labor-baiting employer possesses. The U.A.W. is a strong union and it had the backing of the entire labor movement; it was dealing with an employer who recklessly violated statutes and barged ahead disdainfully, but still it could not bring him to book.

In this long and painful case the laws as presently written and interpreted have been on the side of the company. The company was able to get a quick injunction which forced the union to abandon the particular illegal tactic, i.e., mass picketing, which would have kept the plant closed and won the strike. The union, on the other hand, was not able to use an injunction or any other summary legal device to force the company to abandon a whole pattern of illegal tactics, which, as they continued, destroyed the strike's effectiveness. When the union shifted to a boycott, the law again aided the company because it prevented the union from using the sort of boycott which would have crippled the company's operation. That is, the union could not dare to ask friendly union men to refuse to install Kohler products, which they would gladly have done; it could only ask buyers not to buy. The union could not picket installations because this action would have been enjoined immediately. While the law provided quick and summary relief for the company, all it had to offer the union was a long wait of six years for an administrative decision and of several more years for a final judicial determination.

Since the Kohler company and its operating executive are not characteristic of the corporate personnel and structure of the nation, we must not make the mistake of reading too much significance into the Kohler strike. Nevertheless, some conclusions are warranted. The big industrial unions of this country, it has been shown, are not so strong as their enemies make them out to be. Capital is stronger than labor and, in spite of the labor legislation of the past quarter-century, precedent and, most perniciously, "the law's delay" give the legal advantage to corporations over industrial unions. Although Federal labor statutes have flaws and are dilatory in operation, if it were not for their restraint, capital in irresponsible hands would have the power in this economy to trample the worker and defy the decent instincts of society without fear of punishment or hope of redress.

Local after local of the Textile Workers Union in the South and a few scattered locals of other internationals in the North have been destroyed by tactics similar to those of Kohler. No industrial union, however big, can feel safe and unthreatened, particularly in view of the atmosphere in which the recent General Electric negotiations were carried out.

On the other hand, while the U.A.W.'s persistence, its victory in the N.L.R.B. and its prospect of almost certain eventual victory in the Supreme Court do not banish the various threats to union survival, they should cause other willful employers to think twice before following the Kohler course of action. And they should encourage other unions, and their members, to stand fast and pursue every remedy at hand, no matter how many years or how great pains are required, when dealing with scofflaw industrial power.

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Land of the Reformation

by LEONARD SWIDLER

SINCE Pope John XXIII announced in 1959 the calling of an Ecumenical Council, much has been heard about ecumenical matters, including what progress has been made toward a rapprochement between the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Germany, the land of the Reformation. Possibly the most important point of contact between these two churches is the phenomenal growth of a liturgical renaissance within the Lutheran Church of Germany, a development which parallels the similar movement within the Catholic Church. Things that have often been thought to be characteristically Protestant, such as congregational singing and a vernacular liturgy, have been espoused by the Catholic Liturgical Movement; the converse is true of the German Lutheran Liturgical Movement.

The concept of *cultus* is being emphasized much more in Protestant Divine Service *(Gottesdienst)* by such things as vestments, candles, specified ceremonies and prayer formularies, and, most important, by making the Eucharist, rather than the sermon, the heart of the Divine Service. Private confession is coming back into use; something like the Roman Breviary is being sought; appreciation for the veneration of saints and the Blessed Virgin is growing; even such things as Protestant religious orders are springing up. And all of these new steps taken by the Protestant Liturgical Movement tend to narrow the gap separating the Protestant and Catholic Churches.

The movement of the Liturgical Renaissance in the Protestant Church in Germany has been directed mainly by three groups: the High Church Union of the Augsburg Confession, the Berneuchner Circle with the Michaels Brotherhood, and the Alpirsbacher Circle. The High Church Union *(Hochkirchliche Vereinigung)*, the first of these to be organized, like the Catholic Liturgical Revival in Germany arose during the first World War. Its inspiration was the publishing in 1917 of ninety-five theses by Lutheran Pastor Heinrich Hansen for the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of Luther's theses. The target of Hansen's theses, however, was quite different from that of Luther's: it was the state of the Protestant Church about which he bitterly complained. "The mark of contemporary Protestantism is mass defection and isolated believing groups and individuals, general death and scattered sparks of life." He believed that the only spiritual force influencing the life of the people in Germany then was the Roman Church, because it was Catholic. "If Protestantism is again to gain an influence on the public life of the people, it must recall once more that it is Catholic." To realize these ideas a group of laymen and pastors founded the High Church Union in October of 1918.

In the first issue of the new Union's periodical Siegfried Graf von Luettichau asked, "Does our Protestant *Gottesdienst* fulfill its religious task?" In the attempt to answer the question in the affirmative the High Church Union set up as its goals a number of liturgical reforms. A new awareness of the significance and objective character of the sacraments was to replace the stress on the sermon; the liturgy was to be enriched by such things as music and church and altar decoration. The Union hoped to reintroduce private confession and to encourage practices like church visits, recitations of hours of the Office, and the monastic life within the Protestant Church. The Union also took upon itself the task of making a Breviary for Protestants. And, what is patently very important to Catholic-Protestant reunion efforts, the High Church Union stressed the notion of ecumenicism: "The awareness must be awakened and strengthened in Protestant Christianity that it belongs to the one all-inclusive Church of Christ."

THE SECOND group, which arises from completely different roots, is led by Bishop Wilhelm Staehlin and Pastor Karl Bernhard Ritter and calls itself the Berneuchner Circle *(Berneuchner Kreis)*. The name came about quite accidentally; Berneuchen is the name of a manor in Neumark where, since 1923, this group has met annually. Inspired by their experiences in the Youth Movement, these men have more and more clearly tried to throw off their liberalistic past and find some other basis for ordering their spiritual life. They have concluded that the great issue in the Church today is not moral corruption or even the infidelity to Holy Scriptures of four hundred years ago, but rather an over-intellectualization and over-abstraction; therefore all efforts should be directed toward giving the spiritual life a greater and more perfect concrete form.

The Berneuchner Circle has made itself felt in two

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areas, largely through the printed word. It has made available material helpful to the Protestant's spiritual life: the *Divine Office (Das Stundengebet)* and the *Prayers for the Church Year (Gebete fuer das Jahr der Kirche)* are very like the Roman Catholic Breviary in structure, and often use identical prayers, psalms and music. The Circle also developed a Bible reading plan which follows the Church year, along with a hymn for each week and a Collect prayer for each Sunday. A second part of its effort also went into theological discussion and research in such works as the volumes of *Leiturgia, Handbuch des evangelisches Gottesdienstes,* which has been coming out since 1952, and their quarterly, *Quatember*. Both of these publications are devoted to doctrinal and practical discussions of liturgical and pastoral problems; articles vary from histories of parts of the liturgy to actual experiences of individual congregations with new forms of the liturgy.

Growing out of the Berneuchner Circle in 1931 is a broader group of laymen and clergy, the Michael's Brotherhood *(Michaelsbruderschaft),* which has published its aims in a declaration called *Credo ecclesiam.* After an indictment of the influences which prevent the Church from being what it should be, it repeats that what is needed today is not an elimination of moral corruption, but rather a service in society, *diakonia;* an effective witness for Christ, *martyria;* and a renewal of personal and corporate piety, a sacramental worship, *leiturgia.* The members try to put these aims into practice mainly in their congregations.

There is another group that has been leading the Liturgical Revival in Protestant Germany, the Alpirsbach Circle *(Alpirsbacher Kreis).* Alpirsbach was at one time a Benedictine monastery with a romanesque basilica located near Freudenstadt in the Black Forest. The Circle takes its name from this monastery where, under the influence of the theology of Karl Barth, a group of Protestant theologians led by Wilhelm Gohl (later missing in Russia) and Richard Goelz gathered regularly for theological recollection and work. During these Alpirsbach Weeks the members participated in Eucharistic services and the chanting of the Divine Office with particular care being given to the correct rendition of the psalmody and Gregorian Chant in the Benedictine tradition. It is particularly in this area of chant that the Alpirsbach Circle has done its work of creation, instruction, and such research as the publication of an *Antiphonale* and Masses. In the present German Lutheran Liturgy the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, responses, psalm tones and many hymns are sung to the same Gregorian chant as is in the Catholic liturgy —in German, of course.

IN ADDITION to these organizations note should be taken of the liturgical work done by some official commissions. In the Lutheran State Churches of both Hannover and Bavaria liturgical conferences have been working to improve the church life within their own areas by such means as the forming of new *Agende* or regulations and prayers of religious services for the feasts of the year, something like the Catholic missal.

In order to coordinate their work the two Churches formed a joint liturgical commission, and this led to the taking up of the work of liturgical renewal on a much broader scale. In 1948, the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany (V.E.L.K.D.) was founded and encompassed ten of the thirteen Lutheran State Churches in Germany, about twenty million persons or well over half of all German Protestants. In 1949, the V.E.L.K.D., synthesizing the previous liturgical research and practical experimentation, put out a Church Hymn Book, which includes the re-pristinized liturgy, and a Lectionary, the readings for the Epistle and Gospel in the liturgy. The latter is very obviously similar to the Roman Missal not only in the readings for the Sundays of the year but also for such days as the Marian feasts of February 2 and March 25, and All Saints on November 1. In 1950-52, the first part of an *Agende* was issued. Although the use of these formularies cannot be made obligatory but can only be suggested, according to one Lutheran Liturgist, Pastor Ludwig Weck of Munich, its use in Germany should be almost universal in ten more years.

For the most part, private confession has long been considered a prime distinguishing factor between the Protestant and Catholic Churches. In actuality, Luther, and the Lutheran Church after him, not only permitted the continuance of private confession but even warmly encouraged it, calling it "that all-healing thing"; Luther said that he would not for the world deprive any man of the same benefit he had received from it. "I would have long ago been overcome and strangled by the devil had not this confession preserved me."

It was only in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, with the rise of Pietism, which looked at private confession as a danger in the direction of over-externalization, that private confession began to be considered a Catholic institution that had no place in the Protestant Church. This situation pretty well continued until the Protestant theologian Wilhelm Loehe attempted to revive private confession in the middle of the nineteenth century. Though that "century of progress" was ill-suited to such a revival, the case today is different. Particularly in Germany, feelings of disillusionment and guilt have set the stage for a reintroduction of private confession and today private confession for Protestants is becoming a much more common thing.

There has even been an *Ordnung* of Confession for the Lutheran Church issued by the V.E.L.K.D. in 1953 in which after the penitent confesses his sins the pastor pronounces the following absolution: "In the power

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of the command which the Lord gave His Church I pronounce you free: your sins are forgiven. In the name of the Father. . . ." The *Evangelische Kirchentage,* annual religious rallies attended by hundreds of thousands of Protestants, have been the scenes of thousands of private confessions. At the seventh Kirchentag in Frankfurt, 1956, under the general theme of "Reconcile yourself with God!" the closing assembly of 500,000 heard this statement: "We seek men to whom we can tell everything, about us. Are there such men in the Protestant Church? Who has time for us? Who can listen, listen without thinking about his own problems and without turning away when there are hard things? Who can help us? You pastors, can you hear confession? Do it finally, we beg you, for Christ's sake!"

Protestants have also of late been looking on saints and the value of their veneration with a more kindly eye. The best written example of this changing attitude is a much praised book by the Protestant theologian Walther Nigg called *Grossen Heiligen (Great Saints),* published in 1946. Here, contrary to Protestant practice in the past, the lives of several saints such as St. Francis of Assisi and St. Teresa of Avila are treated with sympathy and are held up for inspiration and imitation.

Still more striking is the growing re-appreciation of monasticism among Protestants. Walther Nigg has also published, in 1953, a book called *Vom Geheimnis der Moenche (Warriers of God,* English edition, 1959) in which he praises monasticism as a great Christian good, the loss of which Protestantism suffers greatly. The Protestant Walther von Loewenich echoes his idea. "One can't sum up this powerful manifestation of a heroic Christianity simply under the heading of a 'false emphasis on works'. . . . Monasticism is the spring at which Catholic piety has ever renewed itself."

THERE HAS not only been a change in attitude toward monasticism but also a change in practice; there have sprung up Protestant religious orders. A number of organizations either are called or are similar to Third Orders; the members follow their particular vocations "in the world" without the help of their rule. There are the Sydower Brotherhood, the Christus Brotherhood, the Third Order of St. Francis, the Johannesbruderschaft and the Michaelsbruderschaft, which we have already mentioned; the last three are the most important. The Third Order of St. Francis, which grew out of the High Church Movement, was founded in 1927 by Friedrich Heiler. Most of the members were Lutherans, often members of the High Church Union who saw a particular value in the spirit of St. Francis, but some members were Roman Catholics, Anglicans or members of other denominations.

Also associated with the High Church Movement was the Evangelical - Catholic Johannes Brotherhood *(Evangelisch-Katholische Johannesbruderschaft)* founded in the fall of 1929 as a successor to the Evangelical-Catholic Eucharistic Association. Because the group placed a great value on having "genuine sacraments" the leader of the Brotherhood, Friedrich Heiler, arranged to receive the episcopal consecration from a bishop of the Gallican Church, which traces its spiritual family tree back to the Syrian-Jacobite Patriarchate in Antioch; thus Heiler, though not in union with Rome, has "Apostolic succession". On August 25, 1930, he received from the hands of the Gallican Bishop Petrus Gaston Vigue, using the Roman ritual, all the Holy Orders including the episcopal. Heiler is consequently in a position to give valid orders to Protestant ministers, a power he apparently has not infrequently used.

The Johannes Brotherhood's rule is particularly interesting because of its special emphasis on liturgical activities: the members are to participate regularly in prayer, whenever at all possible in common with others; members are zealously to take part in the Church congregation's life, especially the Lord's Supper at least every Sunday and private confession at least once a year; every member should also make an annual retreat with daily prayer, reception of sacraments and meditation.

But most interesting are two Protestant orders which were founded mainly for ecumenical and contemplative reasons. One is a group of some thirty-four men, mostly from Reformed backgrounds, who established Communauté de Taizé-les-Cluny in France near Switzerland; since a number of the men are German, quite close relations with Germany are maintained. Here the members live a life very similar to that of Benedictines, including vows, habit and chanting of a breviary. The other group is the Ecumenical Marian Sisterhood in Darmstadt, Germany, which began its common life in 1947 with nine sisters. At present there are about sixty sisters; their life is centered about prayer, private and liturgical, including partial recitation in choir of the Divine Office in German (according to the Benedictine rite) and the singing of the *Deutsche Messe.* They include publishing and catechetical and retreat work among their activities, and have become well known and are visited by thousands each year.

Without any doubt the Liturgical Movement in the Protestant Church has made and continues to make tremendous progress. Hans Asmussen, a Lutheran theologian, says: "We stride forward at such a pace that one can only be amazed. . . . What passes today as matter-of-fact was unthinkable thirty years ago." And as the Liturgical Movement in the two Churches waxes, so does the bond between the two Churches. In fact, such a Protestant theologian as Heinrich Hermelink believes that the Liturgical Movements are the most powerful cause of the conversations between the Churches.

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THE SCREEN

THAT'S HOW THE BAWDY BALL BOUNCES

THREE NEW movies seem to go out of their way to be in "Adults Only" categories. No one of the movies is particularly outstanding, but all three have heroines whose promiscuity is described with frankness, and they will, therefore, win attention of a particular kind. The central character of "Butterfield 8" is a nymphomaniac who describes herself to her mother as "the slut of all times." Elizabeth Taylor gives a performance of startling realism in this sordidly glamorous portrait of Gloria Wandrous; and she looks stunning in a series of costumes required by the script, costumes sometimes as informal as a sheet or slip but more frequently as modish as the "very latest" word in suits or fur coats or evening dress.

The updated script, which Charles Schnee and John Michael Hayes wrote from the 1935 John O'Hara novel, is a curiously loquacious affair for a movie. While some of this talk is peppered with O'Hara's dialogue and descriptions, it hardly makes for fast action. And Daniel Mann has directed "Butterfield 8" less like a movie than like a static study of Gloria and the effect she has on herself and on the people around her.

At the time of the film's opening Gloria is having an affair with well-heeled, unhappily-married Weston Liggett; and the plot is concerned with the course and outcome of this affair. As the man involved, Laurence Harvey makes Liggett a weak, self-centered playboy who thinks the world owes him a loving, and he doesn't stir up much sympathy. But lovely Dina Merrill as his patrician wife does; and her efforts to fight for their marriage are quite moving. Mildred Dunnock is fine as Gloria's mother who suspects but refuses to admit the facts about her promiscuous daughter—even to her neighbor-confidante (Betty Field) who knows a good deal about Gloria. As Gloria's confidant Eddie Fisher walks through the role of the close friend who listens and advises, much to the consternation of the girl (Susan Oliver) who wants to marry him.

"Butterfield 8" doesn't exculpate Gloria, but neither does it condemn her. Because Pandro S. Berman's production done in CinemaScope and Technicolor is so glossy and slick, it surrounds her with a aura of glamor that almost obscures grim reality and the fact that she is sick, sick, sick.

BOBBIE, the expensive prostitute in "Girl of the Night," also confesses to being raped in her youth. But this film, done simply in black-and-white, makes no attempt to extol its heroine or paint her career as a bed of roses. Its well-written script by Ted Berkman and Raphael Blau stems from *The Call Girl,* a social and psychoanalytical study by Dr. Harold Greenwald. While the film is fiction, producer Max J. Rosenberg handles the ticklish material with the seriousness of a documentary. When one of Bobbie's co-workers commits suicide and one of her clients turns out to be a sadist, Bobbie becomes somewhat frightened and begins to take a pretty dim view of her occupation in spite of its high remuneration. Fortunately she starts going to a good psychoanalyst and during the course of the next months begins to see herself as a less worthless person. But she still has difficulty in breaking away from her past, especially since she is in love with the man who guides her career as a call girl and whom she hopes to marry when she retires from this sordid business.

Much of "Girl of the Night" is told in flashbacks as Bobbie talks to her analyst. In spite of the subject matter, the film is not sensational. Anne Francis does a stirring portrait of this girl who seems to be completely amoral. Lloyd Nolan gives another of his good performances as the helpful psychoanalyst. Kay Medford is rather touching as the aging and somewhat bitter madam whom youthful Bobbie views with an attitude of There-but-for-the-grace-of-God-will-go-I. The film's weakness is Bobbie's unconvincing love for the pimp (John Kerr) who sells her out again and again. The best and most serious parts of the film are those dealing with her rehabilitation. Needless to say there aren't many jobs open for retired call girls; and "Girl of the Night" makes this point very clear. Because it is well done, "Girl of the Night" is worthy of the attention of adult audiences and is an excellent illustration in favor of the producers' self-classification of films.

ON THE STAGE, "The World of Suzie Wong" had an elaborate production set in Hong Kong and a very thin story. It deals with a young architect who gives up a solid job for a year in order to paint but spends the time falling in love with a Chinese prostitute. The movie version of this, with a script written by John Patrick from the play by Paul Osborn and the original novel by Richard Mason, follows the stage play very closely. The thin story still depends on the charm of Suzie Wong, the Hong Kong prostitute who builds up for herself a world of make-believe to cover the sordidness of her profession. Under Richard Quine's direction, Nancy Kwan plays this role with a great deal of vivacity and twinkle, and it is easy to understand why she is the favorite at the Nam Kok Bar in the third-class hotel where the American architect takes a room. Perhaps the main difference between the play and the movie is that in the latter fortyish William

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Holden plays the hopeful painter. He plays the role well but looks old enough not to get entangled with petite, girlish Suzie even though she displays great charm and delightful flights of fancy. Michael Wilding, a married man who accepts Suzie as a mistress, much to Holden's annoyance, is also old enough to know better.

I'm not sure why Ray Stark, who gave his film a first-rate production saw fit to cast these not-so-young men in the lead roles. The story, which is rather incredible in the first place, needs at least youth to make it plausible. Lacking that, except for Suzie who has the quality of springtime and for Kay (Sylvia Sims) the English girl who yearns for Holden, the picture must depend on its extra-curricular trimmings. The Technicolor shots of Hong Kong are gorgeous; and often during the course of this too-long two-hour film, they become the main object of interest. The plot, which always goes back to Suzie and the painter who becomes her lover, includes a curious mixture of humor and pathos; and it even tries, during the touching scenes showing Suzie with her baby and Holden coming to her defense, to justify her occupation which she views with detachment. No doubt enjoyment of "The World of Suzie Wong" depends on point of view, and it should delight those to whom sexual morality is a thing apart and as fantastic as Suzie's World.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

BOOKS

A Work of Present and Vital Self-Portraiture

THE BURIED DAY. By C. Day Lewis. Harper. $3.95.

By MAX COSMAN

ALTHOUGH it is true that what he does not say can be as significant as that which he does, we are nevertheless more impressed with the explicit autobiographer. In this respect, C. Day Lewis, member of the thirties school of poetry which included Auden and Spender, rates high. Curious about life, a perceiver of its contradictions and alterations, he not only has learned a good deal during the years, he is not afraid to put down what he knows.

His record of heart and mind, however, is not wanton. Like superior self-reporters ever since St. Augustine and Jerome Cardan, he is selective in what he tells. When he is reticent—the identity, for example, of his fellow members in the onetime Cheltenham branch of the Communist Party is undisclosed; nor is it clear why he and his first wife parted—he is so not because he is prudish or secretive but because he has a strong sense of *noblesse oblige*. He will not, for all the flattering unctions that can be laid to a soul, make a Roman holiday of those who have been close to him. "To justify or to condemn oneself in public," he puts it succinctly, "is a squalid piece of egotism when it will hurt the living."

Of course, where he alone is concerned, there is explicitness enough. He does not boggle over terms like masturbation and homosexual when they are called for. Nor will he hide an extra-marital affair in which he indulged with what seems to be little credit to himself. He will not keep quiet even about something so commonplace, and yet, oddly shame-touched, as pilfering some money when he was a boy.

Just as he is free of exculpation, he is free of self-pity, that still greater breeder of falseness. Take the hazing he got at Sherborne, his public school. The savagery was typical. It would have been within his province now to cry out and so salve the psychic hurt he obviously sustained. But he does nothing of the kind. What he does do, unexpectedly but strictly in character, is to bypass the injury and seek out the good it occasioned. His comment, anthropological of nature, is worth repeating. "I was resilient," he says: "the ordeal, as tribal ordeals are intended to do, had compelled me to realize and admit the power of the social group, and at the same time, since I did not break down under it, had given me a pass into manhood; from now on, while I should be more realistic about the dangers of flouting social codes and public opinion, I should also very gradually come to care little for what people, except the individuals I most respected, thought about me."

This meditativeness is typical of Day Lewis. It rounds out such themes as his search for identity, his conviction that he was to be a poet, his awareness of the need for independence and his yearning, nevertheless, to be accepted by others. It also gives depth to other matters like his hapless relations with his father, his friendships with men like Bowra and Rex Warner, his role of Nicholas Blake, writer of successful detective novels, and, of significance for an understanding of his times, his participation in what we today can see to have been idealistic Leftism.

Yet in studying out the reality in each of these accounts, Day Lewis is not self-consciously the poet. He never lapses into pretentious writing. Even when he brings some of his verses into play, it is chiefly to illustrate the subject at hand. Of course, it is not that he is incapable of sentences in which metaphor and precision of observation illuminate each other in a creative way. These are sufficiently represented. It is rather that his unit of treatment is longer, that he thinks, as a man expressing himself in prose must, in terms of passage.

His practice comes to a climax in the section he calls Postscript. Here sans question, his inner eye passing over a panorama of character and event, drawing conclusion

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The most important study yet made of Russian political psychology

SOVIET LEADERS AND MASTERY OVER MAN

by Hadley Cantril

This chillingly dispassionate analysis of Soviet ideology and its relation to the structure of Soviet society will prove a revelation to most Western readers. It offers a series of brilliant contrasts that reveal the vastness of the chasm between Soviet theory and practice and Western social and political patterns. Mr. Cantril shows how Soviet leaders must continually manipulate their people on a massive scale if they are to accomplish the aims of their regime. The final effect of the book is to make clear how realistic and unemotional the policies of the West will need to be if Soviet imperialism is to be countered.

Index Cloth $4.00 Paper $1.65

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from datum, he creates something rhythmic, moving, fraught with achieved truth. In short, he creates prose poetry.

Cavil as one may, therefore, at a limitation here or there, *The Buried Day* adequately initiates the record of one of the valuable persons of our day. It takes its place among those works of present and vital self-portraiture which begin, let us say, with Osbert Sitwell's *Left Hand, Right Hand!* and go on with Stephen Spender's *World within World,* John Lehmann's *The Whispering Gallery,* Philip O'Connor's *Memoirs of a Public Baby,* Laurie Lee's *The Edge of Day,* and most lately, that contribution to Bloomsbury intellection, Leonard Woolf's *Sowing.*

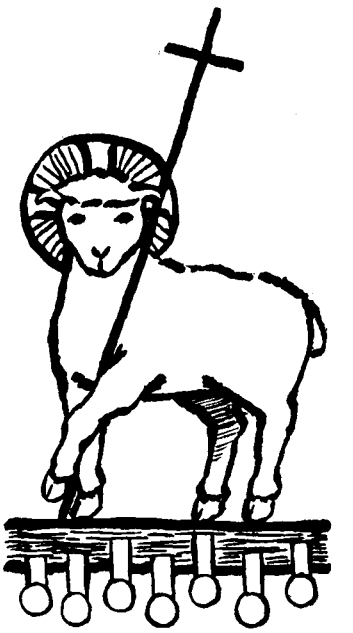
Wry Fantasy

TALE FOR THE BLUEBIRD. By Gerald Weales. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

By EDWIN KENNEBECK

GERALD WEALES' tale is not strictly for the bluebirds, happily, though it is clear why he has put an echo of Maeterlinck into its title. This good-humored contemporary fable, about the obsession of ten people with a mysterious ornamental box, offers one way of evaluating our illusions and ambitions. The wry tone of its finale is reminiscent of Franz Kafka's one-sentence parable about Robinson Crusoe, which says in part: "since without paying any attention to passing ships and their feeble telescopes he started to explore the whole island and take pleasure in it, he managed to keep himself alive and finally was found after all. . . ." But whereas Crusoe had this wisdom at the start of his adventure, the characters in Mr. Weales' tale find it out at the end—but not too late.

The narrator of the story, a thirtyish man named Constance Firth, who prefers aliases, sees the box first in Providence, R.I., where it is left behind by the victim of a wacky accident after he is taken off



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to the hospital. It is a fancily decorated object which seems to contain something and to be alive with promise, but it cannot be opened except, apparently, by some kind of adept. Along with the box, Firth finds a list of nine names and cities. After losing the box he travels here and there across the country to track down the people named in the list. With many a cheerful digression, he tells of his picaresque quest, and reveals what becomes of the nine chosen ones, and himself, after the box is at last opened.

The people on the list include Rodney Salvay, D.D., a positive-thinking peace-monger who holds meetings to cheer up lonely New Yorkers; an Atlanta lady named Annette Despere, who has seen better times; a young Los Angeles lady of the easiest virtue named Candy Stick; Johnny Bucks, a San Francisco beat-type poet; and others. Each of them is intently absorbed in his own life and metier, but each would instantly give it all up if he owned the box. One character, a union leader who has just won a fierce battle for the presidency of International Bag and Burlap Workers, tells Firth that now, having the "power monkey" on his back, he'll forge on to further conquests.

"And after Bag and Burlap?" asks Firth.

"Something must be after that."

"And after the something?"

"Something . . .and something . . . and something more."

"Is there a last something?"

"Are you crazy," says the Bag and Burlap leader. "You're the one who started talking about the ornamental box."

Around the free-wheeling story line, well suited to the author's penchant for asides, he assembles gracefully some disparate sketches of life in these United States. He is attempting a modest virtuoso piece, turning his tart phrases frequently and for the most part successfully. There are some flat and some overly self-conscious passages, but they do not hinder the flow of narrative, which keeps an admirable balance between fantasy and realism, between satire and compassion.

Sweet Lyricism and Tough Wit

KNOWLEDGE OF THE EVENING. By John Frederick Nims. Rutgers. $3.

By JOSEPH P. CLANCY

THE UNIVERSITY presses seem to be assuming more and more the roles of patrons to new American poetry, and I for one am grateful. I just wish I could be more grateful for this particular volume: I find Mr. Nims an exasperating and difficult poet to read and to review.

It is not simply that he is uneven—we expect this of most poets—or that he is uneven not from poem to poem but from stanza to stanza. It is rather the incessant straining of his style: the gaudy diction, the wild piling up of metaphors, the jerky rhythms. I cannot see that the technique comes naturally to most of the poems: I feel it, rightly or wrongly, as "put on", as "will doing the work of the imagination" and doing it badly. Here is the kind of thing I mean:

> Lips: in a candle's ardent trance. Or spoke
> Rich in a dim significance of smoke.
> Wine's lightning, lip to lip, harangued the heart:
> Better the soul from body than lips part.

What is thoroughly exasperating is that the same poet can write:

> Marble shone like shallows; columns too
> Streamed with cool light as rocks in breakers do,

and, in a poem on the death of a child, chop up the fine lyric flow:

> *How was that year?* His voice.
> Over sun on the rug, slow-turning,

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Hung like a seabird lost the
Lorn and bodiless cry.
Haunting the house. *And then?*
I remember then. One morning
Silence like knives in the ear.
A bird gone over the sea.

In "Etruscan Tomb" the excesses of style are suited to the material:

So briskly ferned and folked an ocean
Nobody sour of spirit knows.
Radiant haze
On the prison cliff and the waves that plop with
Lollop of dolphin springy as bows.
Bathers gaze,
Look, where the innocent fishline strays.
What a plunge from the reef as seabirds scatter!
Bodies simple as flowers unclose.

But elsewhere, exasperation. The poems on Italian scenes—Rome, Florence, Venice—have every right to refuse to take the usual tourists' attitudes, and sometimes achieve a true blend of wit and poetry: Rome is "No queen perhaps—an actress all distraction/ To men. A face to be milled in mellow gold." But Mr. Nims seems so very determined not to be taken in that he flaunts his toughness until it tires.

I have a theory about this poet. He has a very real gift for irony, for colloquial wit (in Rome, "Sanctity's in the cellar yet"). But his finest talent is a pure, sweet lyricism of the sort that is not very fashionable, and that he is afraid to trust: the style that seems so much a mere surface is his protection. I wish he would drop his guard, and let himself, whatever the consequences, sing.

REVIEWERS

Max Cosman, a frequent contributor, writes for a number of American critical and scholarly journals.

Edwin Kennebeck, a regular reviewer, is movie critic for *Today*.

Joseph P. Clancy, a poet and critic, has contributed frequently to The Commonweal. He recently published a translation of the *Odes and Epodes of Horace*.

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